

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

666

DRAFTED BY: EA/PRCM:OVARMSSTRONG:MFR

APPROVED BY: EA:WHGLEYSTEN JR

S/S-MR MOFFAT

----- 052011

P 262209Z NOV 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USLO PEKING PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 280409

NODIS

CHEROKEE

FOR AMBASSADOR BUSH

FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 30778 ACTION SECSTATE 25 NOV

QUOTE

S E C R E T PARIS 30778

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY ONLY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR FR CA

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES' VISIT TO CHINA

REF: STATE 277320

SUMMARY: DURING VISIT TO CHINA, FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVA-
GNARGUES WAS TREATED TO STEADY DRUMBEAT OF ANTI-DETENTE
AND ANTI-SOVIET ANALYSIS BY CHINESE HOSTS. BOTH VICE-

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PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER STRESSED THE NEED FOR

EUROPE TO BE STRONG, TO HAVE ITS OWN DEFENSE, AND FOR FIRST TIME, TO BE LEERY OF U.S. COMMITMENT. CHINESE SAID THAT MAIN THRUST OF THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT FORD WILL BE TO POINT OUT DANGERS AND SOVIET ENTRAPMENT WHICH THEY SEE IN DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

1. FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES RETURNED TO PARIS FROM HIS VISIT TO CHINA EARLY THIS MORNING. WHILE HE PLUNGED INTO PREPARATIONS FOR HIS CYPRUS INITIATIVE TOMORROW (PARIS 30693), HE ASKED POLITICAL DIRECTOR DE LABOULAYE, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM THROUGHOUT, TO GIVE ME FULL BRIEFING. DE LABOULAYE ASKED THAT WE HOLD DETAILS OF BRIEFING CLOSELY SINCE SOVIETS ARE NOT BEING BRIEFED. HE ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE THAT WE WOULD PROVIDE APPROPRIATE REDD-OUT AFTER PRESIDENT FORD'S TRIP NEXT WEEK.

2. DE LABOULAYE SAID THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE VISIT CONSISTED OF DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CH'IAO KUAN-HUA ON NOVEMBER 20 AND VICE-PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING ON NOVEMBER 24. BOTH DELIVERED WELL PREPARED AND HIGHLY PASSIONATE DISCOURSES ON WHAT THEY CONSIDER THE DANGERS OF DETENTE. THEY CLAIMED THAT THE SOVIETS, WHOM THEY CALLED THE "SOCIO-IMPERIALISTS," ARE CAMOUFLAGING PREPARATIONS FOR MORE AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR BEHIND THE FACADE OF HELSINKI. ACCORDING TO TENG, DETENTE IS PUTTING THE WEST TO SLEEP, AND THE AMERICANS ARE MORE DEEPLY ASLEEP THAN ANYONE ELSE. WHEN PRESIDENT FORD COMES TO CHINA NEXT WEEK, ALL CHINESE OFFICIALS FROM TOP TO BOTTOM WILL TRY TO CONVINCE HIM THAT THE AMERICAN DETENTE POLICY IS ALL WRONG. THE U.S. IS OVERFEEDING THE USSR WITH CEREALS AND TECHNOLOGY, TENG SAID, AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT, THE USSR WILL ONE DAY BITE THE HAND THAT FEEDS IT.

3. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT BREZHNEV IS NOT AN ADVENTURIST LIKE KHRUSHCHEV WAS, TENG CONTINUED. BUT THE RECORD OF BREZHNEV'S BEHAVIOR DEMONSTRATES OTHERWISE. HE THEN TICKED OFF A WELL REHEARSED LIST OF BREZHNEV ADVENTURES --CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, PAKISTAN'S DISINTEGRATION, INTENSIFICATION OF ANTI-US OPERATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET FLEET, SOVIET AIR FORCE FLIGHTS
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OVER CHINESE TERRITORY, SUBVERSION IN YUGOSLAVIA, AND THE SO-CALLED COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM IN ASIA.

4. ON HELSINKI, TENG SAID THAT THE RESULTS FAVOR THE SOVIET UNION. HELSINKI IS A CAMOUFLAGE FOR SOVIET WAR PREPARATIONS, TENG INSISTED. DE LABOULAYE SAID THAT SAUVAGNARGUES DEMURRED STRONGLY ON THIS POINT. HE SAID THAT FRANCE CONSIDERS THE RESULTS OF HELSINKI TO BE WELL

BALANCED, AND THAT THE GOF WILL PREVENT THE FRE CH PEOPLE FROM DEVELOPING A FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY. FRANCE BELIEVES STRONGLY IN DEFENSE AGAINST THE POTENTIAL SOVIET THREAT AND IS BASING ITS DEFENSE ON THREE MAIN POLICIES--MEMBERSHIP IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCEWN THE CONSTRUCTION OF A STRONG AND UNITED EUROPE, AND INCREASING COOPERATION WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

5. TENG RESPONDED WITH APPROVAL OF FRANCE'S FOREIGN POLICY, ESPECIALLY THE EMPHASIS ON THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND A STRONG EUROPE. TENG SAID IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE AMERICAN PRESENCE IN EUROPE, BUT IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP A EUROPEAN DEFENSE CAPABILITY.

6. ON THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN DEFENSE, TENV SAID THAT WHILE IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE U.S. PRESENCE, THE CHINESE SENSE AN ATMOSPHERE OF MUNICH SURROUNDING THAT PRESENCE. CHINA IS NOT SURE, TENG SAID, THAT IN THE FACE OF A DETERMINED THRUST BY THE USSR, THE U.S. WOULD REACT FIRMLY, OR ON THE CONTRARY HIGHT GIVE WAY AS THE BRITISH DID AT DUNKERQUE. TENG SAID HE HOPED THE SOVIETS KEEP UP THE PRESSURE IN EUROPE IN ORDER TO STIMULATE THE AMERICANS TO EXPRESS THEIR DETERMINATION. THE EUROPEANS MUST INCREASE THEIR DEFENSE EFFORTS, HOWEVER, IN CASE THE AMERICANS GIVE WAY TO APPEASEMENT.

7. DE LABOULAYE SAID SAUVAGNARGUES RESPONDED TO TENG'S REMARKS ABOUT EUROPEAN DEFENSE WITH A WARNING THAT TOO INDEPENDENT A EUROPEAN DEFENSE EFFORT COULD GIVE THE UNITED STATES THE FALSE IMPRESSION THAT EUROPE DOESN'T NEED THEM ANY MORE. THE EFFECT WOULD BE THE OPPOSITE OF WHAT THE CHINESE DESIRE. DE LABOULAYE SAID TENG CON-

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SIDERED THIS AN IMPORTANT ARGUMENT WORTH CONSIDERING.

8. BOTH TENG AND CH'IAO STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF EUROPE AS THE KEY TO SOVIET AMBITIONS. IF EUROPE FALLS TO THE USSR, ALL OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD ARE DIRECTLY MENACED. IF EUROPE MAINTAINS ITS INDEPENDENCE, THE USSR WILL BE STYMIED IN THEIR GLOBAL AMBITIONS. DE LABOULAYE SAID THAT TENG AND CH'IAO SPOKE OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO EUROPE IN TERMS THAT APPEARED ACTION WAS IMMINENT. QUESTIONED ON THIS POINT, THE CHINESE SAID THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BUT THE DANGER IS INCREASING, AND THE SOVIET AXE COULD FALL "WITHIN A FEW YEARS." IN RESPONSE TO SAUVAGNARGUES' QUERY, CH'IAO STRESSED THAT NO CHANGE CAN BE EXPECTED IN THE SOVIET ATTITUDE AFTER BREZHNEV GOES.

"IT IS IN THE NATURE OF THE SOCIO-IMPERIALIST REGIME TO BE A DANGER TO OTHERS." ON THE QUESTION OF U.S. RESOLVE TO RESIST SOVIET AGGRESSITN, CH'IAO SAID THAT THE U.S. DEPARTURE FROM VIETNAM AFTER LOSING ONLY 50,000 MEN IS AN INDICATION THAT THE U.S. MIGHT QUIT IN THE FACE OF A SOVIET THRUST, ESPECIALLY IF A WAR IN EUROPE COULD BE KEPT BELOW THE NUCLEAR THRESHOLD.

9. DE LABOULAYE STRESSED THAT THE LITANY DESCRIBED ABOVE CONTINUED FOR HOURS ON END, WITH THE CHINESE INJECTION OF THE U.S. APPEASEMENT POTENTIAL AS THE ONLY REAL NEW ELEMENT. IT APPEARED COMPLETELY OBVIOUS TO THE FRENCH DELEGATION THAT THE SAME LITANY WILL BE REPEATED TO PRESIDENT FORD NEXT WEEK.

10. ON THE OVER-ALL ATMOSPHERE OF THE VISIT, DE LABOULAYE SAID SAUVAGNARGUES WAS PLEASED. HE DISMISSED FRENCH PRESS CRITICISM THAT SAUVAGNARGUES WAS NOT GIVEN HIGH ENOUGH PROTOCOL AS INACCURATE. IT IS RARE FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS WKAPART FROM DR. KISSINGER) TO SEE TWO VICE-PREMIERS WHEN THEY VISIT CHINA. SAUVAGNARGUES HAD TALKS WITH BOTH TENG AND LI HSIEN NIEN, DE LABOULAYE STRESSED.

11. ON OTHER SUBJECTS, DE LABOULAYE SAID THE FOLLOWING:

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JAPAN: CHINA IS NOT TOO IMPRESSED WITH THE JAPANESE, WHO HAVE NO ENERGY, NO FOOD PRODUCING CAPACITY AND NO RAW MATERIALS. CHINA WILL BE PATIENT ON THE HEGEMONY CLAUSE. THERE IS NO HURRY. DE LABOULAYE SAID CH'IAO'SV DEPRECATING REMARKS ABOUT JAPAN WERE NOT REFLECTED BY EXTERNAL TRADE OFFICIALS, WHO ATTRIZUTED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO TRADE WITH JAPAN.

CAMBODIA: CHINA IS PLEASED AT THE RECONCILIATION WITH THAILAND.

VIETNAM: THE VIETNAMESE ARE A PROUD PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE FOR OVER A THOUSAND YEARS. THEY ARE NOT ABOUT TO BECOME DEPENDENT AT THIS TIME.

LAOS: THE LAOTIANS ARE ALSO A PROUD AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE. CHINA WANTS TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH SOUVANNA PHOUMA.

12. FINALLY, DE LABOULAYE SAID IT IS CLEAR THAT CHOU IS TOO SICK TO SEE ANYONE, ALTHOUGH HE IS KEPT INFORMED BY

HIS PERSONAL SECRETARY. THERE WERE WRITTEN PERSONAL MESSAGES FROM MAO AND CHOU TO GISCARD AND CHIRAC RESPECTIVELY. SAUVAGNARGUES HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT TENG IS IN FULL CHARGE. THEY WERE ESPECIALLY IMPRESSED WITH THE WAY HE DESCRIBED CHINESE POLICY. INSTEAD OF SAYING "I FEEL," OR "I BELIEVE," TENG CONTINUOUSLY SAID "CHINA FEELS" OR "CHINA BELIEVES" OR "CHINA'S POLICY IS." IN SHORT, TENG APPEARED REALLY TO BE SPEAKING FOR CHINA.

13. AT THE CONCLUSION OF OUR DISCUSSION DE LABOULAYE SAID THAT HE HAD GIVEN US A SUMMARY OF EVERYTHING THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE, AND HE HOPED THAT IN TURN WE WILL GIVE THE FRENCH A FULL REPORT OF WHAT TAKES PLACE DURING PRESIDENT'S FORD'S AND YOUR VISIT TO CHINA.
RUSH UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic DecapTIONing: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DETENTE, REPORTS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 11/25/75, MINISTERIAL VISITS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 NOV 1975
DecapTION Date: 28 MAY 2004
DecapTION Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE280409
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/PRCM:OVARMSSTRONG:MFR
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N750006-0017
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751110/aaaaaiju.tel
Line Count: 239
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 75 STATE 277320
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2003 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <02 OCT 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FOREIGN MINISTER SAUVAGNARGUES' VISIT TO CHINA
TAGS: PFOR, FR, CA, XT, CH, US, UR, (SAUVAGNARGUES, JEAN)
To: PEKING
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006